S: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give taro'. Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks (planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school 'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

871 until the end of Standard 4, but that schooling beyond that level
797 is taken by a far smaller number. A great many mission schools teach only up to Standard 4, so that those who wish to proceed further have to attend a boarding establishment.

872 Sivepe was fortunate in that the nearby Sasembata mission
877 school conducted classes to the end of Standard 6. This was a comparatively recent development; when the school was reopened after the eruption, it still went no further than Standard 4. Most pupils will stay at the local school for the full programme, but some who fail the examinations at the end of Standard 5 drop out. Sasembata School has boarding facilities for students from other mission schools who have to leave home to get education after Standard 4. These are accommodated in dormitories built of bush materials on the mission station.

872 Inonda was less favourably placed. A school opened at Sivepe in 1952 by a Seva mission teacher displaced by the eruption, was closed down in 1959. Today, the nearest school, at Hohota, three miles away, teaches only up to Standard 2. Anyone proceeding beyond that level had to board at Popondetta for further schooling. In 1967, there was one Inonda boy receiving education in Standard 4 at the Popondetta primary school. There were no children at Inonda who had left school at Standard 2 and were hanging about at home; it will be interesting to know how many of the seven children at present in Standard [illegible] will go to Popondetta next year.

873 Post-primary schooling is available at four institutions in the Northern District (two government, two mission) with a total attendance of 719, but neither Sivepe nor Inonda had students there in 1966-67. At levels above Standard 4, the education system tends to become increasingly selective, with tough examinations to reduce the number of those who take up boarding places at secondary school facilities. External examinations are set for students completing Form II (i.e., Standard 9), Form III and Form IV. For the most successful, university and other advanced training is available; those who have completed
[874] Standard 7 or higher can enter teacher training schools. Two of the post-primary schools in the Northern District are technical schools which train apprentices. Training for nurses is not yet available in the district, except with the mission, which issues no diplomas.

871 Education in most of the Northern District is not yet compulsory, even though legislation exists to enable the government to declare school attendance compulsory in specified areas. Popondetta has been declared an area of compulsory education. It is true, as the government claims, that even where schooling is voluntary, virtually all children enroll and attend from the age of five. The length of attendance depends on the type of education available in various areas; thus, it would generally be longer in Sivepe than in Inonda.

The curriculum, both in the government and mission schools, is very highly standardised and mission education is of necessity dominated by the need to prepare students for government examinations.

875 spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These
[465] men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a
654 grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who
797 held A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from $240 per annum to $1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin
895 colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission spends the grants-in-aid.

871 Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools.
[877] Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English, Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available
[207] over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965, 38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

652 In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of
871 the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged, that Papuans passively accept education as a handout and feel no obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva parents, and notably those of Sivepe, are constantly making substantial contributions. The head teacher at Ssembata told me that in 1966-67 he had received $300 in financial contributions as well as a great deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials necessary for these projects including sago thatch and blackpalm flooring--both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well. These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a good deal more than the tax of $1 per child the head teacher was

this became the core of a new community. At the time of my arrival the European mission sister had been replaced by a Papuan assistant medical officer who, though from another tribal area, strengthened the Papuan missionary group. There were ten teachers, a priest, a deacon and the medical officer, together with their mostly large families--a population that must have been close to 100. Also on the mission station were the boarding school students, adolescents from various districts (their number was around 60), some of them related to the mission teachers. It was customary for the teachers to adopt the children of relatives to be educated on the station under their care. This further added to the Papuan mission station strength.

In this atmosphere the European staff, though indisputably in command, were severely handicapped, as usual, by their lack of information about what was really happening on the station. Not infrequently, I was better informed about this than the head teacher, because the station gossip would flow very easily into Sivepe whereas the mission staff were careful not to tell the head, for fear of inviting instructions they might not wish to obey. The big building projects, such as the hospital, were organised without his knowledge; the workers suddenly appeared and started work; after a few weeks pulled down the building, not being satisfied with it, and started again. They only approached the head when they wanted nails.

To the Orokaiva of the district, the real power struggle was not with the head but with the mission staff. This does not reflect on the head personally; indeed, shortly before my departure, he became a candidate in the Higaturu Council elections and was elected councillor for the ward which includes the mission station, on the votes of surrounding villagers. This very fact, however, indicates that he was not involved in the power rivalries surrounding the station; it was expected that he would be effective in negotiating with the council for water supplies, roading improvements and such like and that, being virtually a stranger, he would not upset existing power relations.

The power rivalries arose because the mission station Papuans regarded themselves as definitely superior to the villagers. The Motu-speakers especially thought of themselves as carriers of a higher culture than that of the Orokaiva--better dances, better loincloths, better headdresses, better pots, and above all, a long association with the mission during which their district had become altogether more civilised than the inland people. It was because the Orokaiva were ignorant that they had to depend on Motu mission teachers.

This boasting troubled the Orokaiva especially because it had some factual basis. Much present-day Orokaiva culture is borrowed from the coast and coastal art and technology is superior in sophistication. Cona was the birthplace of the Anglican mission of the Northern District; hence, the coast has produced a disproportionate number of priests and mission teachers, the most prominent of whom is the Bishop who is himself a Cona man. In these circumstances owners of land surrounding the mission station saw some risks in making